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602 553 shall be given, which means that the father chooses the names from his marelker.

602 Kutara and mari always come to each other's assistance in times of danger. When a camp quarrel is being aired kutara invariably stands at mari's side. If one of them is killed the other will aid the avenging party. A black magician's tales of his killings speak of a mari who had lost his kutara in a spear fight and had come to the magician [154] for aid to buy back his kutara's life. The sorcerer slew the kutara's killer by magic, and the mari paid for it with many handsome gifts.

[431] Presents are always being exchanged between kutara and mari. When ranga string is being given away after some of the big ceremonies, mari and kutara are always prominent in the exchanges.

715 When kutara dies mari's spirit always comes for him, along with marikmo's. If the deceased was a young man, the dead mari's spirit condemns his relatives for not giving the child better treatment and for not preventing his death. They always explain to his mari's spirit that they have done all they could to keep him alive. Mari helps marikmo's spirit take the dead soul back to its totemic water hole and helps protect it against the evil ghosts who try to steal kutara's soul. So, in death as in life, mari is kutara's protector and guide. In [853] the Djungguan circumcision ceremony mari's totemic name is always called out by his kutara, as is marikmo's, and it is believed that the spirit of mari appears at that time, although it is not seen.

602 [867] Mari is usually the person who really teaches kutara his manners. Mari is powerful not only because of his direct relationship with kutara, but also indirectly, for he is father of mokul (mother-in-law) and marelker (mokul's brother); he is marelker to kutara's bapa, and wawa or yukiyuko to mari mielk, who is mother to kutara's gawel.

602 606 The fact that mari is father to kutara's mokul, the woman with the strongest taboos around her and one who is very important to kutara, gives kutara a strength he would not otherwise possess. He can force mokul to give her daughter to him if the mokul is unfair about it, since mari can put pressure not only on her but on her husband, who is gawel to kutara. Mari occupies, because of this relationship with kutara's gawel and mokul, one of the most powerful positions. A man's whole position, security and well-being demand that he have a number of wives and children; he must look to gawel and mokul for the fruition of his wishes; if his mari and he are on good terms, which nearly always holds true, his mari will force these two to help him. In other words, the relatives with whom ego is weakest are those with

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602 606 mutual avoidance. He cannot speak to her; she cannot speak to him. He does not look at her; she does not look at him. They do not hand any article to each other or use each other's names. Should they meet on a path they each turn aside and walk past with their eyes averted. There is no direct contact between the two, except in very unusual cases or in times of great emotion, such as during a fight, when a man or a woman is not aware of what he is doing. Their whole relationship is an indirect one.

602 867 A child before circumcision is exempt from the avoidance rules because he is considered too young to understand them. After this he is told to observe all of them in his relationship with all his mokul. A young mokul is also told at an early age that she must observe all the taboos surrounding gurrong. If a mokul has become very old it is possible to talk to her, receive food, and be near her, but the relationship is always most formal and reserved.

602 753 606 Should a mokul or gurrong disobey any of the taboos unwittingly (it would happen in no other way), a sore or large swelling would appear in the groin of the offender. Several persons were so afflicted, and all their tribesmen believed them to have broken this taboo and to be suffering the penalty.

602 606 Mokul and gurrong may be near each other around the same fire. An observer would not notice their avoidance unless aware of the custom and the relationship of the individuals; it then becomes quite marked.

602 606 431 This taboo does not imply any animosity between the two, their indirect relationship usually being most pleasant. A man is proud of his mokul and boasts of her kindness to him. She always sends him food and her most prized possessions through her daughter, and he sends presents to her through his wife. She, too, is equally proud of her gurrong, and tells of his many kindnesses to her.

602 606 [586] If a man's galle misbehaves, mokul would always help him discipline her. Only in cases of extreme cruelty would the wife's mother take her part against the husband. If a gurrong is neglectful of his duty in giving presents to his parents-in-law, there is always a chance that, during the early part of a marriage before there are any children, the daughter will be taken away from him. The mokul takes a prominent part in this action, for she feels that he must look out for her.

A mokul who misbehaved herself as a wife to gawel would find her gurrong against her and he would help gawel punish her.

For a full appreciation of her relationship to gurrong, it is neces-

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make quite a point of carrying their personal baskets under their arms in the manner of mature men.

When large animals such as kangaroos, sea turtles, or emus are harpooned or speared and are being prepared for the stone fires by the older men, the little boys stand about and watch, edging as close as they can and being constantly warned to get back. Meanwhile they quarrel among themselves over the tidbits given them, e.g., the shells of the turtles from which they pick bits of meat.

A boy remains with his family of orientation until he is six or eight years of age, when he is circumcised, leaves his family, and goes to live with the boys of his own age and those who are older in a male group presided over by an older man (or men) who does not possess a wife. This does not mean that he is not in constant contact with the members of his own family. It is felt to be wrong, however, for the young man to live in his parents' camp after he reaches this age because he will be aware of their sexual relations and will learn ways of behavior not proper for a boy who has not taken a wife. Sexual relations between married people are carried on in the bush in the daytime and in camp at night. In camp they lie in such a position that they will not be noticed by their camp mates. "It is all right for children to watch, for they don't know what's happening, but when a boy gets older he sees, and then he says, 'That's good for me, too.' He goes and gets a young girl, maybe a galle to him, and they go into the bush." "When he stays in the big camp he sees too many women. If sometimes you see a small boy from the men's camp sit down in the camp with the women, he hasn't learned which way to behave proper."

The sister taboos are put into force at this same period and are active deterrents in keeping the boy away from his own camp, since the young girls remain with their parents until they are taken by their spouses.

The youths are supposed to eat in their (boys', unmarried men's) camp and sleep there, not going around with women. The boys' camp is the place for them to learn the proper etiquette in their conduct with men and women. A boy is not supposed to look "hard" at a woman. Whenever a man stares at a woman he is thought to have designs upon her. "If a boy looks hard at that girl she says to herself, 'What does he look at me for that way? I think he wants to play with me.' She goes and talks then and makes trouble."

When the younger circumcised boys are put in the unmarried men's

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camp there is a definite recognition of age. They are seen no longer as babies but as growing boys; but if the young men stay in the men's camp after they grow a beard it is then not so much a matter of age grading as such as it is a single status that is being recognized, since they are now at the proper age for marriage. It is marriage which takes males out of the men's camp and puts them in the general camp. The young men's camp recognizes sex, marriage status, and age. A large number of men who are past the adolescence ceremonies, that is, the totem-seeing rituals, continue in the young men's camp because they have yet to obtain a wife. Further proof that marriage is a final criterion of status is found in the fact that men who travel without their women stay in the men's camp, since at that moment they are single men and not to be classed as married. The only deviation from this of which the writer knows is that occasionally a man will stay in a brother's camp if visiting outside his own clan's territory.

In the young men's camp the oldest man takes charge and reprimands all wrongdoers with the assistance of the near relatives of the offending youths. He also gives them instructions and advice about the totemic emblems when they have seen them, and informs them on the tribal mores, tradition, and mythology. At times there may be more than one old man in the men's camp. The division of authority and power is then based on the personalities of the old men, the more dominant achieving a greater control over the boys. Such authority is more explicit here than one finds it in almost any other part of the Murngin behavior, with the possible exception of the ceremonial ritual when the leader decides when and where it shall be held.

His near female relatives carry the bones of the animal when a boy makes his first kill. It is supposed to be done for all the animals a male kills until he has a baby. The bones of the animal or bird are painted with red ocher. If a boy kills a turkey or other large bird, he does not pick it up but leaves it, returns to the camp and tells some old man. He does not say the name of the turkey but calls out "Ka-ok," the sound the turkey makes, to tell his listener what has happened so that he can pick it up. If a young man finds a porcupine (echidna), he will not kill it but goes to tell an old man of his find. If it is killed, he cannot eat it. After they have been carried by the women, the bones of the larger animals are put in a basket made by the mother for this purpose. The basket is placed near the camp and no one touches it, for it would anger the relatives of the boy and a fight would follow.

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from one of the older men: "When I was circumcised they told me all the water was monok (salty or bad) because the flood had come and covered everything. I was told I could speak to no one except gawel and bapa and only little boys, and not to women or men."

H. The Two Circumcised Youths Are Steamed

1. A fire is built in the men's ground; the boys are steamed over it while being instructed.
2. They learn the totemic language.
3. Food taboos are placed on the older boys.
4. Yurlunggur returns to the sacred pool.

1. Next day, or shortly after, the initiates are taken to the men's ground. On the part of the ceremonial ground that is nearest the women's camp two parallel logs about a foot and a half apart are laid over two other logs placed directly over a stone fire. The stones are made red hot. Lily leaves are gathered and soaked in water, or sometimes bunch grass is dampened and used for this purpose. The boy stands on the upper logs and squats over the fire.

The dampened leaves are thrown into the fire and produce a thick steam. This pours around the boy and is supposed to enter his anus, go all through his body, and come out his mouth.

This is to make him a very "strong" man. It is to prevent him from being greedy or noticing the pangs of hunger or thirst. It is to help insure his having plenty of kangaroo, fish, and other animal and vegetable food.

The old men warm their hands over the fire and put them to the boy's mouth while they are addressing him: "You must not use obscene language. You must never tell a lie. You must not commit adultery, nor go after women who do not belong to you. You must always obey your father and respect your elders. You must never betray the secrets that you have learned from us to the women or the boys who have not been circumcised."

While they are speaking they also rub the navel of the child, for this is also supposed to make him "strong" and prevent him from being greedy.

2. The leader starts the round of totemic songs he used earlier in the Djungguan ceremony and conducts the singing with his singing sticks. The boys are taken off the fire and placed on the ground. A man brings a piece of paper bark on which several small pieces of food have been placed. Every variety of food obtainable in the camp at

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but the power name is not given to the food for them. The natives agree that this food is eaten because all Wongar yolno did the same thing. If the leader gives the food with his name to it to his friends from another tribe, his own clanspeople would wait until there was an opportunity and kill him, because they do not want to have that name go to another tribe.—All my most reliable informants gave me this information.

Yiritja and Dua both eat this food, providing they are from one country, which really means, if they are closely related. My most intelligent informant said this: "Dorng and Ilkara [two men of the Liaalaomir group] can eat our food which has a big name because their sister married one of our people. It is all right for the Ritarngo to eat Warumeri and Wangurri food which has a big name because we have one ranga, because we are friends. Sometimes we give our ranga from the Warumeri side to the Ritarngo and they give us rangas from the land side. That is because that duck came from the Ritarngo to us in Wongar days."

2. The string is taken from the totemic emblems, wrapped around the hand into a neat ball, and placed in a basket. The carved-log ranga (see page 340) is hidden once more in the mud of the ceremonial leader's totem well. It is said that the leader likes to have them all remain there. The men can eat no animal food, but only bush (vegetable) food, until they have been painted. The old men say to them, "You must do what we tell you. Put your head and ears to these things. You don't want to swear at your old men or your big brothers. You want to talk a good way to them. We don't want you to steal. You don't want to go running after other men's women." The old men also tell the younger ones which rangas belong to the different totemic wells and which wells belong to the various clans. This ends the Dua Narra ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—The old men say, "This makes one people."

THE YIRITJA NARRA CEREMONY

A. Preparation

1. The same general preparations are made as those before the Dua Narra.

1. The Yiritja Narra ceremony parallels the Dua Narra rites. After a log has been cut, scraped, and carved, the leader sends out word to the various surrounding clans that a Narra is to be held. A Duni

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crayfish, garrawark, barrimundi, whale and whale rib; but the high rangas, such as black duck's egg and large basket, will not be displayed.

The chorus of men and the leader start dancing again on the Narra dance ground. They dance spring floods and salt water. The old men hold their totemic emblems in front of them in the same way that the Dua do, except that they are supposed to be representing the movement of the fresh-water flood down to the sea and the movement of the sea back again. The young initiates stand in front of them at the head of the Narra grounds. Two men stand beside them and instruct them in the meanings of the dances and of the totems. When the garrawark totem is carried, it is thrust in the ground, and the various totemic wells it is supposed to have formed are named. The leader then calls out the power names of garrawark. He next calls out the power names of spring floods while the men dance back and forth. This is supposed to represent the original fresh-water flood which carried all the totemic emblems down to the sea. The chorus next dances crayfish. Their hands are moved jerkily to imitate its movements. They whisper "E—e—e—." The leader calls out the sacred name of the crayfish.

Native Interpretation.—See Dua Narra.

I. The Higher Totems Are Shown (See the Dua Narra).

K. The Sacred Bread Is Eaten and the Ceremony Concluded (See the Dua Narra).

The Yiritja Narra is concluded with the eating of the totemic bread in the men's ground after the old men have displayed the higher totems to one another. The boys are admonished to conduct themselves according to the tribal standards, and food taboos are placed upon them. (See the Dua Narra.)

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Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 582 611 616 617

All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. (See page 16.) 616 617

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance. 614 621 778

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the vast majority of cases consist of— 532 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men. 614 778

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity. 796 867 [784]

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primitive races. After the age of six or seven years the children very largely pass out of the direct care of their actual parents, and become part of the tribal group. Quite frequently they will spend weeks and months away with other members of the horde, but no concern is felt on their behalf. They are the children of the clan rather than of their actual parents. 000 854 858 614

At about the age of nine or ten the boys are taken away from the care of the women and the companionship of the younger children, and are prepared by the men for their initiation into the real life of the tribe. The chief feature of initiation in this area is the rite of circumcision, which is universally practised in East Arnhem Land. This actual ceremony is followed by a period of instruction, during which the boys are acquainted with their "marlk," or sub-section, their "jungoin," or totem, and the various laws and tabus designed to regulate their lives as members of the tribe. 852 [304] [867]

There is in this area no initiation ceremony for girls, who, for the main part, accompany the women in their search for food, and generally become acquainted with the duties which they will be required to perform in later life. [852] 857 868

In this district the children have nothing in the way of organised games, and for the main part find their amusement in the imitation of the doings of their elders. The boys arm themselves with the strong stalks of the long tropical grasses, and, taking sides, engage in strenuous spear fights. The girls play at cooking, the building of little humpies, and the nursing of babies represented by small bundles of paper bark. Both sexes join in elaborate mourning ceremonies over a dead bird or young animal, breaking off their wailing to indulge in hearty bursts of laughter. Life for them, during their early years, is happy, care-free, and undisciplined.

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159 We Wangurri clans-people are a bush people (pages 16-29, 42). We are very strong and very fierce and good fighters. All the coast people are afraid of us. Our country comes to the salt water at only one place on Arnhem Bay (map, page 40). It was here that we saw the Macassar. They brought [439] us presents of rice, syrup, calico, tomahawks, dugout canoes, knives, and gin. We gave them pearl shell, pearls, tortoise shell, sandalwood, and other woods they use for medicine. We helped them gather trepang (pages 456-458).

159 273 439 579 At these times, when the Macassar prahus took down their sails and masts and their men disembarked, our old men drank plenty, for it was then they got all the gin they wanted for the presents they gave the Macassar men. There would always be big fights. In the morning you could see blood everywhere and many people were killed. While the old men fought with the knives from around their belts and with tomahawks, clubs, and spears, the children used to sneak in and eat the food that they had left. We always waited our chance and rushed in and ran away again.

159 431 609 I can remember one day my father's giving me some tortoise shell and saying, "Mahkarella, you go and give this to that Macassar man and make friends with him so that when he comes again he will know you, and you will know him, and you will have a feeling of friendship for each other." I did. The Macassar man talked to me but I didn't understand him. I forget the rest.

159 574 Another thing I remember when I was very small: I went with my father through the Gwiyamil clan country to the Wulkara people for a corroboree. This is the path our ranga took in the stories we know about him, and those people are also Sand Fly people (pages 33-35), just as we Wangurri are.

159 857 Before we were circumcised we little boys played spear-fighting games, talked about sneaking up and killing a man, and we threw clay mud balls at each other. When it was hot in the rainy season we swam in the sea (pages 125-128).

Later we played being grown men and women with the little girls. We made little fires in the sand beaches. We went out just like our fathers and pretended to spear fish, and the little girls went into the bush and brought home bush food (vegetable food). We made little bark huts just like our fathers' and mothers'. The girls would come in and lie beside us as our wives and we were their husbands.

When we were little boys, others boys who were a little bit bigger joked us about the wives we were going to marry. This made me feel very ashamed. Little girls joked the same way. They also became ashamed. When we got bigger we weren't ashamed any more. We were glad.

159 867 I think I always knew it was wrong to "play with" a girl of the Yiritcha

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society because I always knew I was Yiritcha (pages 29-33). I just knew it. No one told me. I cannot remember anyone telling me, I just knew it. Yiritcha people belong to my half of the people, and I knew it was wrong to play husband and wife with my sister, even though I was a small child and knew nothing. I talked to my sister then. Now I never talk to my sister (pages 63-67). I never do any of those things with my sister. I am just the same with her as I am with my Mokul Rumeru and my Momelker (pages 103-104).

Long before I was circumcised I was told to stay away from my Mokul [Mother-in-law] and her mother. They were taboo. I was told by my father and my mother and the other old people that I could not speak to them and that I must not look at them. I must never touch them, and I could not use their names. If I wanted to give them anything I must give it to another man or woman to give to them, but never could I give anything to them from my hand to theirs. If I went near them or did any of these things, the old people told me, I would get a sore in my groin and a very large swelling in that place and I would become very sick. When I was very little I walked around anywhere, and I touched anybody, and I did as I pleased, and I went near these taboo people because I didn't know any better.

I didn't know anything at that time. I thought women were just the same as men. I did not think at all. By and by, when I had grown a little, I saw that the little girls were different when I looked down at them. I thought then that they were just like my mother. About this time I noticed that some of the little boys looked different when I looked at them there. They had no foreskin on the penises, but I had a foreskin just as I had when I had come out from my mother. At first I did not say anything—I was ashamed. By and by I asked one boy why he was like that and he said he was circumcised. I asked him how it was done. He said he did it. He was lying to me because the old men had told him they would kill him by magic if he told the truth to us small boys. We could not know this until we had been circumcised ourselves. I did not know he was lying, but I felt maybe he was not telling me the truth.

When we little boys and girls played together we did it by ourselves so that no one could see. We were ashamed if we thought older people were watching and listening to what we were doing. We said things to each other about sexual intercourse and other sexual things which we did not understand. The other day I heard a little girl say to the little boy she was playing with, "You are my husband. I am your wife. Come have sexual intercourse with me." That was the kind of things we said to each other. I laughed because I remembered when we said those things and we did not know what they meant. She said it because it was part of their game. But

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nighttime when I heard this and I thought if I went to my mother she would hide me and I could sleep. I asked her to hide me under her sleeping mat. She put me there but said I would have to be cut. She said all men had to have that done to them for it was like that (page 261). 159 852

Next day, when it was time for me to be circumcised, my galles, who were big men, caught me and took me from my mother. All the women got spears and they pretended to fight the men. They threw spears without spear-throwers. They did not hurt anybody. It was a little bit like fun. I thought, "Those women are fighting for me." It made me feel good. The men made a ring around me and took me. They chased the women away. I was taken to the sacred ground of the great Bapa Indi, where the men held their ceremonies to celebrate the fact that they were Dua (pages 29-33).

I thought I was going to see a real python. When I stood and looked at the leaves and piled up earth that surrounded the dance ground I thought that big snake would come out there. I stood at the head of the ground with another little boy who was also going to be circumcised and two old men stood beside us (pages 265-266). Two dancers came. They were all painted, but I was too little and I did not know what their paint meant. One old man said they were Wongar kangaroos (pages 271-274). He also said, "When you get through with this ceremony you can't talk any more to any of your people except your father and your mari and to the little boys." He said if I did talk a little bird which was all the same as a spirit would listen to me and come and tell all the old men and the old men would kill my mari and my mother and kill me. They would have a bad medicine and do it. [867]

All the dancers who come out in the circumcision ceremony appeared. While they came the two old men told me the story of the two Wawilak sisters who made the world and our life the way they are today (pages 250-259). In one of the dances several old men ran at us little boys, holding spears in their spear-throwers and pretending they were going to kill us with them. We were very afraid but we did not show it. We stood still. Then they told us that this was the way Wangurri people were and this was the way our fathers and our grandfathers had always acted and that they had never been afraid and they always had been great fighters. After this they took us away, back to the bush which separated the men's ceremonial ground from the main camp of the women. Some old men stayed with us. When we had been there a few moments we could hear the roar of Yurlunggur, the great Father Python of the Dua moiety (pages 265-266). He seemed very near. I tried not to tremble, but I was very afraid. The old men told me he was more than a real snake. He was a spirit. The old 159 852 869

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sitting around singing. I was afraid again because I did not know what they were going to do. I did not cry. I just looked down and said nothing. They told me to stand up on the logs and squat down over the hot stones. An old man stood by. He had some lily leaves that had been soaked in water. He threw the lily leaves on the hot stones. Steam came up all around me. This went inside my anus and into my body and all through it and came out my mouth. That is what those old men told me. 159 783 852

They told me it would make me very strong and clean me all out and make me all the same as the power song. I know now they did this for this reason and so that I wouldn't be greedy and could go a long time without food and without drink.

Two or three old men warmed their hands over the fire and put them to my mouth and talked to me. They said, "You are no longer a baby. You are growing up and going to be a big man. You must not swear at anybody. You must not lie. You must not chase after other men's wives." 159 852 [867]

Another old man rubbed my navel. He said, "This will make you very strong and you won't get hungry quickly and you won't try to eat too much food." One old man sat beside me. He picked up a piece of kangaroo. He said, "This one is not kangaroo. What do you call this one?" Another old man sat on the other side of me and whispered the power name of kangaroo in my ear. I called out the secret name of this food when I swallowed it. When I said this, all the old men who were sitting around in the men's chorus sang out, "Yai! Yai!"

That first old man then named all the kinds of foods that grow in the bush and that are game and that are fish, and he said this same thing to me and that other old man told me their power names. All the time the leader beat his singing sticks and sang the sacred names of these foods. This was the first time I had ever heard the secret language which only we men understand. No women hear these things. Women are profane and they would spoil them. These are things only for men to know. Children and women are not strong enough (pages 288-290). [198] [562]

He Grows Up—A Foreign Woman Seduces Him

My father and I went to visit my nati's people at Elcho Island (map, page 40). I was larger then, and my circumcision had been a few dry seasons in the past. Some Macassar men were there, and they said that the white men were getting very mean and cheeky and that they were going to stop the Macassar men from coming. They said that this was their last voyage and they would never come again. They said that white men were all the same as animals and that they were big men and had hair on them and were very fierce and they just killed people because they liked to kill. 159 648